

# The Oracle and Cult of Ares in Asia Minor

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**H**ERODOTUS never fails to fascinate with his rich and detailed descriptions of the varied peoples and nations mustered against Greece by Xerxes;<sup>1</sup> but one of his most tantalizing details, a brief notice of the existence of an oracle of Ares somewhere in Asia Minor, has received little comment. This is somewhat understandable, as the name of the proprietary people or nation has disappeared in a textual lacuna, and while restoring the name of the lost tribe has absorbed the energies of some commentators, no moderns have commented upon the remarkable and unexpected oracle of Ares itself. As we shall see, more recent epigraphic finds can now be adduced to show that this oracle, far from being the fantastic product of *logioi andres*, was merely one manifestation of Ares' unusual cultic prominence in south/southwestern Asia Minor from "Homeric" times to Late Antiquity.

## *Herodotus and the Solymoi*

[...] ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοΐνας εἶχον σμικράς, καὶ προβόλους δύο λυκιοεργέας ἕκαστος εἶχε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆσι κεφαλῆσι κράνεα χάλκεα· πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι ὦτά τε καὶ κέρεα προσῆν βοῶς χάλκεα, ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι· τὰς δὲ κνήμας ῥάκεσι φοινικέοισι κατελίχατο. ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι Ἄρεος

<sup>1</sup> The so-called Catalogue of Forces preserved in 7.61–99. In light of W. K. Pritchett's thorough refutations of such scholars as O. Armayor, D. Fehling, and S. West, who seek to discredit the authority of Herodotus on this and other points, I will simply refer the reader to Pritchett's two major treatments of their work, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* IV (Berkeley 1982) 234–285 and *The Liar School of Herodotus* (Leiden 1993).

ἔστι χρηστήριον. Καβηλέες δὲ οἱ Μηίονες, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλούμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν Κίλιξι εἶχον σκευήν, τὴν ἐγώ, ἐπεὰν κατὰ τὴν Κιλικῶν τάξιν διεξιῶν γένωμαι, τότε σημανέω. Μιλύαι δὲ αἰχμάς τε βραχέας εἶχον καὶ εἴματα ἐνεπεποπέατο· εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τόξα μετεξέτεροι Λύκια, περὶ δὲ τῆσι κεφαλῆσι ἐκ διφθερέων πεποιημένας κυνέας. τούτων πάντων ἦρχε Βάδρης ὁ Ὑστάνεος.

[...] had small ox-hide shields and each had two wolf-hunter's spears. Upon their heads were bronze helmets with the bronze ears and horns of an ox attached and crests on top. Their shins were girded with scarlet strips of cloth. Among these men is an oracle of Ares. The Meionian Kabelees (though they are called Lasonians)<sup>2</sup> had the same equipment as the Cilicians, which I shall describe when I come in course to the Cilicians' detachment. The Milyai had short spears and their vestments were fastened with pins. And they had bows like those of the Lycians, but on their heads they wore leather helmets fashioned from strips of hide. Of all these Badres son of Hystanes was commander (7.76–77).

At 7.75 Herodotus describes the Bithynian Thracians, after which there is a lacuna in the text.<sup>3</sup> When the text resumes, he

<sup>2</sup> R. W. Macan's criticism that "The 'Cabaliens' are (as Rawlinson observes) 'identified by Hdt. with the Lasonians in one place and distinguished from them in another'" (*Herodotus Seventh* etc. [London 1908] I 101) does not pay attention to the syntax of Herodotus at this point: Καβηλέες δὲ οἱ Μηίονες, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλούμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν Κίλιξι εἶχον σκευήν. The δὲ after Lasonioi shows that the following participle is adversative: the Meionian Kabelees—though they *are called* Lasonians—had the same equipment as the Cilicians. Herodotus thus offers an objection to, and implicit correction of, another view which he knows to be incorrect from his researches into the origins of the Lydians at 1.74 (οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μηίονες ἐκαλεῦντο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτουσ ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβαλόντες τὸ οὔνομα), as well as the composition of the satrapies (3.90) where the Lasonians and Kabelees are listed separately.

<sup>3</sup> H. Stein, *Herodotus* (Berlin 1894) ad loc., apparently following an earlier text by dePauw (see H. Rosén, *Herodoti Historiae* II [Leipzig 1987] 212, line 861 notes), recognized a gap in the text and has been followed by all subsequent editors save Rosén, who notes that Eustathius (*Dion.* 793 [GGM II 356]) cited Herodotus for an oracle of Ares among the Bithynians. Rosén concludes from this that there is in fact no lacuna. His opinion is not borne

is describing the equipment of a people in south/southwestern Asia Minor. He ends the description, “Among these men is an oracle of Ares.” Herodotus then details the tribes of the eastern interior of Asia Minor, ending with the Colchians, completing the rough circle begun with the Paphlagonians at 7.72. The Kabelees—listed immediately after the mention of Ares’ oracle—have been traditionally placed north of Lycia,<sup>4</sup> for Herodotus (3.90) records that these Kabelees were administered by the Persians as one *nomos*, along with the Lasonioi, Hytennes, Mysians, and Lydians. We are clearly dealing with a *nomos* whose people hail, at least in part, from the inland region later geographers called Pisidia, a designation unused by Herodotus.<sup>5</sup> If we seek to find the name of the tribe missing in the lacuna, we must turn to our other major source for the ethnic geography of this region, Strabo.<sup>6</sup>

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out by the internal structure of the list, however. The leader of each contingent consistently appears at the end of the description of that contingent. In this instance, the leader of the “Asian Scythians” (= Eustathius’ Bithynians) has already been named—Bassakes son of Artabanos—before ἀσπίδας δὲ. Moreover, Rosén’s interpretation of the text creates two distinct sets of armaments for the Asian Scythians, which is unparalleled elsewhere in the catalogue of forces. It should be noted that Eustathius cites Herodotus almost verbatim and therefore has no independent value, *pace* Rosén. It is highly probable that Eustathius, working in the twelfth century, was reading an already corrupt manuscript of Herodotus.

<sup>4</sup> Strab. 13.4.17, quoted below. See also R. Syme, *Anatolica* (Oxford 1995) 183–184.

<sup>5</sup> It is therefore highly unlikely that Πισίδα stood in the lacuna, *pace* Ph. E. Legrand, *Hérodote, Histoires* (Paris 1932) 100–101. The other candidates for the lacuna proposed by Stein are Ὑπεννέες and/or Λασόνιοι, who, along with the Kabelees, are grouped with the Mysians and Lydians in the satrapy list (3.90). Stein’s proposed restorations are not impossible, but I will propose a different restoration below. Wesseling’s proposed Χαλύβες, supported by G. Rawlinson, *History of Herodotus IV* (London 1875) 69 n.8, would place in southern Asia Minor a tribe which Strabo 14.5.24 clearly locates on the Pontic coast, far to the east of Sinope and Amisos, a localization which accords well with Aeschylus *Sept. 727–733* and 941–946. See W. W. How and J. Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford 1912) I 157, with references.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo’s *Geography* is an indispensable and largely reliable source for any study of Anatolian geography and ethnography. While some have voiced reservations as to the scope of Strabo’s travels, there is good reason to be-

The Milyadeis, listed by Herodotus immediately after the Kabelees, inhabited the hinterland east of Kibyra in Strabo's time.<sup>7</sup> This might suggest that the missing tribe that controlled the oracle of Ares is to be placed in the Kibyris or far western Pisidia. The Kibyris, Strabo informs us earlier, stretches from Caria "as far as the Taurus and Lycia."<sup>8</sup> But Strabo also tells us that the Kibyritai of his day are descendants of the Lydians, who once held the land of the Kabaleis, and of the Pisidians who later migrated there.<sup>9</sup> The geographer also says that the Kibyritai grew strong in Hellenistic times, annexing the Kabalian cities Bubon and Oenoanda, before the tyrants of Kibyra were put down by Murena.<sup>10</sup> It is, unfortunately, clear from these passages that the ethnic and political geography of the region in Strabo's day do not simply correspond to that of the fifth century B.C.

But there is another name intimately and consistently associated with this area from a very early period. Strabo says

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lieve that his account of south and southwestern Asia Minor is based in no small part on autopsy. Strabo studied under Aristodemus at Nysa in Caria (14.1.48), saw the temple of Ma (Enyo) when he visited Cappodocian Comana (12.2.3), and witnessed the rites of the Magi in that region. It seems very likely that he had more than a passing familiarity with Lycia and Pamphylia as well. For a recent summary of the issue, with references, see D. Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia: A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome* (London/New York 2000) 15–30, and, more generally, Syme, *Anatolica*.

<sup>7</sup> Strab. 13.4.17, Μιλύα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ Τερμησὸν στενῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου ὑπερθέσεως δι' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Ἴσινδα παρατείνουσα ὀρεινὴ μέχρι Σαγαλασσοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀπαμέων χώρας.

<sup>8</sup> Strab. 13.4.15, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἡ Κιβύρα ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη καὶ ἡ Σίνδα καὶ ἡ Καβαλίς μέχρι τοῦ Ταύρου καὶ τῆς Λυκίας.

<sup>9</sup> Strab. 13.4.17, λέγονται δὲ ἀπόγονοι Λυδῶν οἱ Κιβυράται τῶν κατασχόντων τὴν Καβαλίδα· ὕστερον δὲ Πισιδῶν τῶν ὁμόρων ἐποικησάντων καὶ μετακτισάντων εἰς ἕτερον τόπον εὐερέστατον ἐν κύκλῳ σταδίων περὶ ἑκατόν.

<sup>10</sup> Strab. 13.4.17, ἠϋξήθη δὲ διὰ τὴν εὐνομίαν, καὶ αἱ κῶμαι παρεξέτειναν ἀπὸ Πισιδίας καὶ τῆς ὁμόρου Μιλυάδος ἕως Λυκίας καὶ τῆς Ῥοδίων περαιίας· προσγενομένων δὲ τριῶν πόλεων ὁμόρων, Βουβῶνος Βαλβούρων Οἰνοάνδων, τετράπολις τὸ σύστημα ἐκλήθη, μίαν ἐκάστης ψῆφον ἐχούσης, δύο δὲ τῆς Κιβύρας· ἔστελλε γὰρ αὕτη πεζῶν μὲν τρεῖς μυριάδας ἵππεας δὲ δισχιλίους· ἐτυραννεῖτο δ' αἰεὶ, σωφρόνως δ' ὅμως· ἐπὶ Μοαγέτου δ' ἡ τυραννὶς τέλος ἔσχε, καταλύσαντος αὐτὴν Μουρηναῖ καὶ Λυκίοις προσορίσαντος τὰ Βάλβουρα καὶ τὴν Βουβῶνα.

that the Kibyratāi used four languages: Pisidian, Greek, Lydian, and the language of the Solymoi,<sup>11</sup> and Eustathius adds that the Solymoi, whose name was apparently rendered “Tzelymoi” in the regional barbarian tongue, inhabited a barren area of Asia Minor and were regarded with suspicion by the Lycians.<sup>12</sup> Herodotus also mentions the Solymoi in his account of Sarpedon and the “foundation” of Lycia:

But when Sarpedon and Minos, the sons of Europa, fought over the throne, Minos, being victorious, drove out Sarpedon and his partisans. Having been expelled, they made landfall in Asia in Milyan territory. The Lycians occupy this area now, but of old it was Milyas, and the Milyai were then called Solymoi.<sup>13</sup>

Such a close association of the two names appears genuine, for the Milyas, in Strabo’s day, designated the mountainous area stretching north-east toward Pisidia from the city of Termessos,<sup>14</sup> and the inhabitants of that city called themselves Solymoi and their main deity Zeus Solymeus.<sup>15</sup> The connection of the Solymoi with this region is further reinforced by the epic tra-

<sup>11</sup> Strab. 13.4.17, τέτταρσι δὲ γλώτταις ἐχρῶντο οἱ Κιβυράται, τῇ Πισιδικῇ τῇ Σολύμων, τῇ Ἑλληνίδι, τῇ Λυδῶν. R. Schafer, “Lycia, Milya, Solymoi. A New Anatolian Language,” *Minos* 8 (1967) 125–129, has identified not two but three distinct ‘Lycian’ dialects on the famous Xanthian Stele, one of which he proposes to identify as the language of the Solymoi. For a brief exposition of the ancient sources on the Solymoi see Ruge, “Σόλυμα” and “Solymoi,” Türk, “Solymos,” Kroll, “Solymeus,” in *RE* 3A (1927) 988–990.

<sup>12</sup> Eust. *Il.* 369.8–12 (I 582 van der Valk); cf. 635.36–38 (II 285). As van der Valk correctly points out (II 285), Eustathius has not drawn this material from Strabo or any other source that has survived to us. “Qua de causa conicio eum alium quoque fontem consuluisse.”

<sup>13</sup> Hdt. 1.173.2, τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὐτὴ τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλύας, οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. Ps.-Herodian *De pros. cath.* p.52.32 Lenz, derives the name of the Milyas from the sister-wife of Solymos, the tribe’s eponymous hero.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted n.7. Note that Strabo appears to associate the area of the Milyas of his day with the Solymian mountains of Homer (1.2.10): καὶ τῶν Σολύμων τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Ταύρου τὰ περὶ τὴν Λυκίαν ἕως Πισιδίας κατέχοντων.

<sup>15</sup> Strab. 13.4.17, τῆς γούν Τερμησέων ἄκρας ὁ ὑπερκείμενος λόφος καλεῖται Σόλυμος, καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Τερμησσεῖς Σόλυμοι καλοῦνται; *TAM* III 103.5, 127.1, 135.7.

dition. The “glorious Solymoi” appear first in the *Iliad* as the opponents of the Lycian hero Bellerophon<sup>16</sup> and his son Isander.<sup>17</sup> Such legends apparently preserve or reflect the memory of very real armed conflict between Greek colonists and the indigenous peoples of the area,<sup>18</sup> for the the Lindos Chronicle recorded the dedication of a sickle<sup>19</sup> and helmet taken from the Solymoi by Lakios, the *oikist* of the Lindians’ mainland colony Phaselis.<sup>20</sup> It is also worth noting, in this context, that Bellerophon

<sup>16</sup> *Il.* 6.184, δεύτερον αὖ Σολύμοισι μαχέσσατο κυδαλίμοισι. Cf. Strab. 13.4.16, πλησίον (sc. Termessos) δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Βελλεροφόντου χάραξ καὶ ὁ Πεισάνδρου τάφος τοῦ υἱοῦ [αὐτοῦ] πεσόντος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Σολύμους μάχῃ. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγομένοις ὁμολογεῖται· περὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Βελλεροφόντου φησὶν οὕτως· δεύτερον αὖ Σολύμοισι μαχέσσατο κυδαλίμοισι. περὶ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ· Πείσανδρον δὲ οἱ υἱὸν Ἄρης ἄτος πολέμοιο μαρνάμενον Σολύμοισι κατέκτανεν.

<sup>17</sup> *Il.* 6.203–204, Ἴσανδρον δὲ οἱ υἱὸν Ἄρης ἄτος πολέμοιο μαρνάμενον Σολύμοισι κατέκτανε κυδαλίμοισι; cf. Strab. 13.4.16 (quoted n.16), whose text gives the name Peisander.

<sup>18</sup> Thus G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary II* (Cambridge 1990) 185: “it is a reasonable conjecture that the natives were driven into the mountains to the north-east, but made incursions into colonized Lycia from time to time.” Cf. Strab. 1.2.10, 13.4.17, 14.3.10. T. Bryce, “Political Unity in Lycia during the ‘Dynastic’ Period,” *JNES* 42 (1983) 31–42, at 32, and *The Lycians* (Copenhagen 1986) 32, 100, has demonstrated that before the late sixth century Persian conquest of Lycia, its political boundaries extended no farther than the Xanthos valley, and the *chorai* of Greek colonial ventures in the area, e.g. Phaselis, were likewise restricted. We should, therefore, expect large portions of the region to have been inhabited by other tribes, the Solymer among them. See also P. Frei, “Solymer – Milyer – Termilen – Lykier: Ethnische und politische Einheiten,” in J. Borchardt and G. Dobesch (eds.), *Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien-symposiums* (Vienna 1993) 87–97, esp. 89–91.

<sup>19</sup> A typical Anatolian weapon, cf. Hdt. 7.92; see N. Sekunda, “Anatolian War Sickles and the Coinage of Etenna,” in R. Ashton (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Coinage from Turkey* (Oxford 1996) 9–17; also known in Lydia: I. Ozgen, *The Lydian Treasure* (Ankara 1996) 45, fig. 84.

<sup>20</sup> *Lindos* 2.C.7, and see now C. Higbie, *The Lindian Chronicle and the Greek Creation of their Past* (Oxford 2003), with commentary ad loc., who finds no reason to doubt the essential accuracy of the tradition preserved by the chronicle here. See also, in the same vein, Frei, in *Akten* 89. Indeed, Strabo (14.3.9) notes that Phaselis lies at the southern foot of Mt. Solyma, whose eastern slope was inhabited by the Solymoi of Termessos. The Phaselites also worshipped Zeus Solymeus, perhaps a conflation of the Greek deity

phon's son Isander met his doom in the land of the Solymoi, killed in battle by none other than Ares himself. Indeed, the *Etymologicum Magnum* makes the Solymoi the sons of Ares.<sup>21</sup> Thus a wide range of sources associate the Solymoi and Ares with the mountainous region in and near Lycia.

Both ancients and moderns have traditionally called this region Pisidia,<sup>22</sup> but neither the term Pisidia nor the ethnic Πισίδια appear as a designation of any place or people in Herodotus, despite his relatively detailed descriptions of this region's peoples and their customs. It would seem that in his time the Pisidians had not emerged or arrived as a distinct *ethnos* in the region.<sup>23</sup> But what of the Solymoi? Herodotus, as we have seen, identifies them with the Milyadeis, implying that they had once occupied the Lycian coast before the arrival of Sarpedon. To judge from the satrapy list (3.90), the Milyas of Herodotus' day appears to have been located between Lycia and Pamphylia, probably to the east and north of Termessos.<sup>24</sup> But does this, in turn, mean that Herodotus did not know a contemporary tribe known as Solymoi? When Herodotus says that "the Milyai were *then* called Solymoi," could he not be, implicitly, distinguishing the contemporary Milyadeis, who occupied a fraction of their previous territory and had once been called Solymoi, from another contemporary tribe still referred to as Solymoi, perhaps also settled in the mountainous area northeast of Lycia, as Strabo suggests?<sup>25</sup> The geographer

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and an indigenous Solymian god: G. Petzl, *EpigrAnat* 33 (2001) 51. A. Keen, *Dynastic Lycia* (Leiden 1998) 233–235, has collected the sources for the foundation and early history of Phaselis.

<sup>21</sup> *Etym.Magn.* s.v. Σόλυμοι; cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Πισιδία, who makes them the sons of Zeus and Chaldene.

<sup>22</sup> Pliny *HN* 5.94 and Steph. Byz. s.v. Πισιδία identify the inhabitants of this region with the Solymoi. Cf. Strab. 13.4.16–17, who distinguished the two peoples on the basis of language.

<sup>23</sup> Thus How and Wells, *Commentary* II 157.

<sup>24</sup> V. Bérard, "Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure," *BCH* 16 (1892) 436–439, followed by W. Calder and G. Bean, *A Classical Map of Asia Minor* (London 1958). For general discussion of the borders of the Milyas, see Keen, *Lycia* 19–20; Syme, *Anatolica* 177–203.

<sup>25</sup> Strab. 1.2.10, 13.4.17, 14.13.10.

also says that the Kabaleis, whose settlements included Oenanda, Balboursa, and Bubon, were considered Solymoi as well.<sup>26</sup> The name maintained strong and lasting associations with the peoples and regions to the north and northeast of the Lycian coast.

It would appear that several peoples of the region claimed descent from the legendary warrior tribe, raising the possibility that Homeric epic had influenced the formation of ethnic identity in this region.<sup>27</sup> But this possibility is vitiated by several considerations. As we have seen, in Strabo's day the language of the Solymoi was still spoken in the area north of Lycia, and the Termessians referred to themselves as Solymoi and venerated Zeus Solymeus.<sup>28</sup> It seems unlikely that the Termessian epigraphic use of the name merely reflects an appropriation from epic, for the Milyadeis and Kabaleis could also boast descent from the Solymoi, yet did not formally style themselves so, while the name was ostensibly and deeply rooted in the cultural and religious consciousness of the Termessians. To these facts should be added two other significant pieces of evidence. Plutarch relates that the Solymoi had once enthusiastically worshipped Kronos, but after the god had killed their three *archontes* and driven them out of their ancestral lands, the Solymoi deified their deceased leaders, worshipping them as *σκληροὶ θεοί*.<sup>29</sup> The worship of a founding triad is well attested epigraphically in northern Lycia and Kibyrtis,<sup>30</sup> and Kronos

<sup>26</sup> Strab. 13.4.16–17; Ptol. 5.3.5. See Syme, *Anatolica* 183–184.

<sup>27</sup> Thus Syme, *Anatolica* 189.

<sup>28</sup> His is likely the Doric temple excavated at Termessos: S. Mitchell, "Hellenismus in Pisidien," in E. Schwertheim, *Forschungen in Pisidien (Asia Minor Studien 6 [1992])* 10–11, with references.

<sup>29</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 421D–E. These "Hard Gods" are probably not to be identified with, but are perhaps conceptually related to, the *θεοὶ ἄγριοι* of *TAM* II 148 and *I. Anazarbos* 52.

<sup>30</sup>In Lycia at Tlos, Pinara, and Kragos, in Kibyrtis at Kibyra, Tabai, and Kidrama. The specific names within each triad vary from place to place, but all have a strong Anatolian flavor. See L. Robert, "Divinités d'Anatolie," *Hellenica* VII (1949) 51–52.

had a cult and festival at Tlos in the Xanthos valley.<sup>31</sup> It would seem that the Solymoi were a genuine, identifiable, and self-conscious ethnic group whose language and religious practices survived long into antiquity,<sup>32</sup> and while many other groups could share in the glory of the name, the inhabitants of Termessos had the greatest claim and identified with it most closely. Indeed, in the land of the Termessians one could be shown the former camp of Bellerophon and the tomb of his son, cut down by the hand of Ares (Strab. 13.4.16), who was the father of the Solymoi in some traditions (*Etyim.Magn.* s.v. Σόλυμοι). The ultimate origins of the Solymoi elude us, but Choerilus of Samos in the fifth century B.C. may preserve a general picture of their culture:<sup>33</sup> a hard-bitten people, eking

<sup>31</sup> *TAM* II 554, 581, 585. This is unlikely to be a Greek phenomenon, as the cult of Kronos, the deposed enemy of the Olympian order, was not prominent in the Greek world. Rather, the “Kronos” of the region is probably an Anatolian deity, the origins of whose cult are perhaps indirectly reflected by Plutarch. See Bryce, *Lycians* 189–191.

<sup>32</sup> Bryce, *Lycians* 19–20. Pliny (*HN* 5.127) lists the Solymoi and Leleges among Asian tribes that had “perished,” citing the prodigious Alexandrian scholar Eratosthenes. This is somewhat troubling, for Strabo (13.4.17) and Eustathius (*Il.* 369.8–12, 635.36–38) both suggest that the Solymoi and their language survived much longer, perhaps even into later antiquity. Some doubts as to the authority of Eratosthenes on this subject may be entertained. The Carian Philip of Theangela (*FGrHist* 741 F 2 = Ath. 271B), writing in the third century B.C. (*i.e.* roughly contemporary with Eratosthenes), and Plutarch (*Mor.* 302B) agree that the Leleges had not “perished,” but had been subjected to the Carians, whose land they worked as serfs. In light of this, when we consider the Solymoi, it may be wiser to rely on the authority of Strabo, who specifically states that the Solyman language was still spoken in the Kibyris. Thus some aspects of Solyman culture seem to have survived at least into the early Roman Imperial period. It seems doubtful, however, that we can simply equate the Solymoi with the Isaurian raiders of later antiquity, despite the testimony of Theodoret *Hist.Rel.* 10.5 or Zos. 4.20.1. Nor should the tales of a Solyman foundation of Jerusalem, preserved in Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.2) and Josephus (*Ap.* 1.172–175) be taken seriously.

<sup>33</sup> Fr.4, P. Radici Colace, *Choerili Samii reliquiae* (Rome 1979) 41–48, τῶν δ’ ὄπιθεν διέβαινε γένος θαυμαστὸν ιδέσθαι, | γλῶσσαν μὲν Φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στόματων ἀφιέντες, | ὄκειον δ’ ἐν Σολύμοις ὄρεσι πλατὴν παρὰ λίμνῃ | ἀχμαλέοι κορυφὰς τροχοκουράδες, αὐτὰρ ὑπερθεῖν | ἵππων δαρτὰ πρόσωπ’ ἐφόρου ἐσκληκότα καπνῶ.

out a meager and isolated existence high in the mountains that bore their name.<sup>34</sup>

As all our sources makes clear, the ethnic geography of southwest Asia Minor resulted from a long process of migration and colonization/displacement. While Strabo does not describe the Solymoi as a contemporary ethnic group with distinct geographical boundaries, he does attest an enduring association of the Solymoi with the most important peoples—Kabaleis, Milyadeis, and Pisidian Termessians—inhabiting the area north/north-east of the Lycian coast, stretching toward Pamphylia.<sup>35</sup> The fact that the Solyman language was still spoken, among others, in Kibyra—even farther north and west—raises the prospect that the territory associated with Solyman tribes contemporary with and known to Herodotus could have extended far to the west of Termessos, and perhaps even included other, “separate” peoples within their ambit.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Syme, *Anatolica* 189, casts doubt upon the location of the tribe described by Choerilus: “Choerilus says that they wore helmets of hide, made out of horses’ heads. That is the distinctive badge of the eastern Ethiopian levies in Herodotus [7.70]; and Homer [*Od.* 5.283] provides the link between Solymi and Ethiopians—when Poseidon paused and surveyed the seas from the vantage-point on the Solyma mountains he was returning from Ethiopian festivities. Choerilus must be abandoned, though not without reluctance.” This general observation seems to go back at least to K. Lanckoronksi, *Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens* II (Leipzig 1892) 5, but does not account for the location of the tribe in the Solyman mountains, for no such mountain(s) exists in Ethiopia. Strabo 1.2.10 naturally associates the Solyman mountains of Homer with the chain northeast of Lycia. Indeed, Termessos stood at the foot of Mt. Solyma (Strab. 13.4.17, quoted n.15). Syme’s statement (189) “Nor has the attribution to the Solymi of Pisidia found much favor in recent years,” written during World War II, has itself been overtaken by events, and prevailing specialist opinion now favors identification of the Solyman mountains of Homer with those to the northeast of Lycia: Frei, in *Akten* 89–91, and Bryce, *Lycians* 19–20.

<sup>35</sup> Later sources consistently separate Solyman territory from Pamphylian: schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13.90, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὀλβία.

<sup>36</sup> Such ethnic “islands” within larger ethnic and political unities were apparently common in the region, e.g. the temporary inclusion of the Kabalis within the Kibyrtis (Strab. 13.4.17, n.10 above) and the Solyman Milyadeis floating in Pisidian territory south of Sagalassos (13.4.17, n.7 above). See also Syme, *Anatolica* 180.

Such a supposition would be consistent with the order in which Herodotus lists the tribal contingents of Xerxes' Anatolian levies, moving from west to east.

While absolute certainty is not to be had, Σόλυμοι stands a better chance of having been in the original Herodotean text than Πισίδααι. It seems only natural that Herodotus would list the Solymoi along with the Milyadeis and Kabelees of his day, for not only did they inhabit the same general area, but they also apparently shared similar customs and perhaps a common language. If we accept Σόλυμοι as the name to be restored in Herodotus' lacuna, then the oracle of Ares he attests finds its best context in or near the city whose citizens called themselves by that name—Termessos. A cult of Ares is attested there and the names of his priests indicate that members of a wealthy local clan tended the god.<sup>37</sup>

*The oracular Ares of southern Asia Minor*

The cult of Ares is very well attested in the numismatic and epigraphic record of Asia Minor from the fifth century B.C. to the late Imperial period. Most strongly entrenched in the south-central and southwest, Ares' worship is epigraphically attested at no fewer than twenty-nine sites and he appears on more than seventy local issues in the region. This unusually strong clustering led Louis Robert to conclude that the Ares of southwestern Asia Minor was an indigenous god given a Greek name.<sup>38</sup> Recently, two important inscribed dedications to this indigenous Ares were found northeast of Side in Pamphylia. The inscriptions, which likely date to the second or third century A.D., record thank offerings to Ares as an *oracular* deity, and many other aspects of these new texts are best illuminated by comparison with other relics of Ares' cult throughout southwest Asia Minor.

<sup>37</sup> *TAM* III 107, 212. These priests were in the same family as another Osbaras who dedicated a stoa to the *demos* of the city: *TAM* III 20 with p. 302.

<sup>38</sup> Robert's seminal works on this are: *Hellenica* VII (1949) 67–73; X (1955) 72–78, 214; XIII (1965) 43–44; *Documents d'Asie Mineure méridionale* (Geneva/Paris 1966) 91–100; *BCH* 107 (1983) 572, 578–583.



Having received an oracle from the god, Memnon son of Trebe[mes dedicate]d at his own expense the bronze statue on behalf of Trebemis son of Nesba. [He] ful[filled his vow, for] the god [w]as p[ro]pitious].

These two blocks served as bases for statues dedicated to the god—common enough. But closer inspection suggests that we face an Anatolian phenomenon in Greco-Roman guise. The names Woxes, Trebemes, and Nesba are all distinctively Anatolian.<sup>39</sup> Indigenous names, in fact, proliferate at rural sanctuaries in this region and appear with fair regularity in the urban centers as well.<sup>40</sup> The participle *χρηματισθείς*, restored in the first text by analogy with the second, indicates that this Ares had answered the questions of the dedicators,<sup>41</sup> either through a dream or through a more formal oracular consultation<sup>42</sup>—a surprising circumstance, for Ares was not known as an oracular god among the Hellenes, nor did the Romans ascribe such powers to Mars. But these Sidean dedications to an oracular Ares find a more comfortable, regional context in light of Herodotus' mention (7.75–76, discussed above) of Ares' oracle in southern Asia Minor. This general region was apparently rich in local seers and oracles, for the Lycian city of Telmessos was renowned for its *manteis*, consulted by Croesus (Hdt. 1.78), Gordius (Arr. *An.* 2.3.1–4), and Alexander.<sup>43</sup> The impression of an Anatolian religious phenomenon in Greco-

<sup>39</sup> Nollé, *Side* II 603, 605, with references.

<sup>40</sup> The cult of Ares in this region provides several instances: the dedications of Thoas at Oenoanda, Robert, *BCH* 107 (1983) 572 (cf. F. Schindler, *I. Bubon* no. 4, for Troilos son of Thoas, perhaps of the same family, attested making a dedication to Ares at nearby Bubon); dedications to Ares by Gimias and S. agloas son of Sendeos at Zekeriaköy, H. Swoboda, J. Keil, F. Knoll, *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien* (Brünn 1935) nos. 101 and 103; dedications by the Legetai and Skodes son of Molesis in the *chora* of Sagalassos, Robert 582–583; [Opl]es and Obrimotos, priests of Ares at Termessos, *TAM* III 107 and 212.

<sup>41</sup> M. Büyükkolancı and H. Engelmann, "Inschriften aus Ephesos," *ZPE* 86 (1991) 137–144, esp. 144.

<sup>42</sup> L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine* (Paris 1963) 381.

<sup>43</sup> Aristander of Telmessos, Arr. *An.* 1.11.2, etc.

Roman garb gains substance as we consider the final lines of the first dedication.

Nollé's interpretation of line 6 in the first dedication presents problems.<sup>44</sup> If, as he believes, the ἄγαλμα of the god has already been mentioned, as seems likely by analogy with the second text, it makes little sense to refer to the same object again in the next line, but by a different term, εἰκότιον. Moreover, the syntax of the inscription seems to preclude this interpretation, for καὶ must connect two separate objects of the verb ἀνέθεκεν, if ἄγαλμα is to be rescued from grammatical limbo.<sup>45</sup> It would seem, then, that two distinct objects were dedicated to the god, a statue and an εἰκότιον with the base. What could this separate εἰκότιον be?<sup>46</sup> Several meanings are possible. "Statuette," "small image," or "little figure" are all perfectly valid translations, but in the absence of further guidance from either inscription, the precise meaning of the term in this context would remain unclear, were it not for a highly interesting find from northern Lycia/Kibyris.

A gilded, inscribed medallion now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts is one of two circular gilded silver plaques said to have been unearthed at a place known as Sekiovası near Oenoanda in north-central Lycia.<sup>47</sup> One plaque, dedicated to Zeus,

<sup>44</sup> "In diesen Zeilen wird zunächst das Motiv als solches—nämlich ein Götterbild, gr. ἄγαλμα—genannt und dann in Zusammenhang mit dem Weiheakt noch einmal in seiner Struktur genauer beschrieben (wahrscheinlich εἰκότιον, βᾶσις)": Nollé, *Side* II 604.

<sup>45</sup> Thus necessitating Nollé's supplement of a second, understood, verb (*Side* II 603).

<sup>46</sup> In the authors (*TLG*) εἰκότιον appears only twice in patently religious settings. Athenaeus (574C) quotes Polemon (ca. 200 B.C.) for an εἰκότιον of the hetaira Kottina, who was believed to have appeared near the shrine of Dionysos in Sparta. Likewise, Plutarch *Them.* 22.3 mentions an εἰκότιον of Themistocles in the temple of Artemis Aristoboule at Athens. Cf. the better-attested diminutive εἰκοτίδιον.

<sup>47</sup> The topographic indications for the location of Sekia, as relayed to Jacobstahl and Jones (16: "four miles north of Oenoanda ... about halfway along the road between Makri and Elmali") are impossible to follow today. On the 1:250,000 Map of Ancient Lycia prepared by Sabri Aydal, the modern village of Elmali lies to the E/SE of Oenoanda, and my autopsy of the area revealed no villages to the north of Oenoanda bearing the names

bears the name of the ancient community to which the cult(s) belonged: Myangla. The other circular medallion is engraved with a bust of a warrior. The figure turns his head to the right, wears a very elaborate helmet with a double crest, feathers, and long, decorated cheek-pieces,<sup>48</sup> and is clad in a two-layered, decorated leather corselet.<sup>49</sup> The figure is identified as the god Ares by the inscription.

Diameter of plaque: ca. 0.12 m; weight: 128.95 gr. Original dedication in reign of Tiberius or Hadrian, depending on the era chosen.<sup>50</sup>

P. Jacobstahl and A. H. M. Jones, "A Silver Find from Southwest Asia Minor," *JRS* 30 (1940) 16–31. Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1944, 172; Robert, *BCH* 107 (1983) 578–583. *Vidi* 8 February 2005.

To the left and above the bust of Ares, five lines which were erased and gilded over. Only the first two can be easily read:

Ἄρ[μ]οστος  
Ἄρ[έ]ως  
τὰ ἀγάλματα  
χρυσ[ᾶ - -]  
[ἀνέθηκεν?]

Harmostos son of Areus [dedicated?] the golde[n - -] adornments.

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Elmalı or Makri. Makri is the old name of Fethiye, ancient Telmessos. Robert, *BCH* 107 (1983) 579, was able to locate two other sites, Sekiovası and Sekiçay (precise location unclear) in the vicinity of Oenoanda, and the modern village of Seki lies ca. 10 km. east of Oenoanda. Whatever their exact origins, the plaques were obtained by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1958 (accession numbers 58.351 and 58.352) and are now on display there.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. the helmet of a giant on the Artemis slab of the Pergamene altar (*Altertümer von Pergamon* III.2 43 and fig.6), and the helmet in relief on a shield from west-stoa pediment of Pergamene Trajaneum (V.2 48 and pl. 24).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. the corselet depicted on a relief from Kadiköy, *AA* 46 (1931) 183–185 and fig. 9.

<sup>50</sup> Jacobstahl and Jones, *JRS* 30 (1940) 27–30.

Below this, four very mutilated lines:

Ἄρευς Ἄρ-  
μόστου  
ἔς ἐπισκευ-  
ῆν < I[- - -].<sup>51</sup>

Areus son of Harmostos, for repair, ? drachmas.

To the right and above the bust:

Ἄνδρέας Ἄ-  
γρεοφῶντος  
ἱερατεύσας  
στέφανον ἐ-  
πόησε χρυσοῦν  
Ἄρη.

Andreas son of Agreophon, having been priest, made the golden crown for Ares.

Below this, poorly written:

Χ[. . .]ο-  
τός ἐπε-  
χρύσω-  
σεν  
Μενε-  
κλέους.

Ch[. . .]otos son of Menekles gilded (it).

<sup>51</sup> The Roberts interpreted the last two legible characters of 4 as an abbreviation for a weight in drachmas followed by the beginning of an illegible number. Jacobstahl and Jones, while noting this possibility, report that Meritt preferred to see the epsilon and delta of ἔδ[ωκεν]. My autopsy seems to support the Roberts. But the surface of the plaque at this point is extremely battered and damaged, so that it is impossible to tell whether the last, partially legible line was originally followed by one or more additional lines that have now perished.

Around the rim of the medallion:

Μένιππος Ἑρμοφάντου τοῦ Μασα ἱερατεύσας Ἔρη καὶ  
τῷ Δήμῳ ρο´ (ἔτους) ρι´.

Menippus son of Hermophantes son of Masa, having been  
priest, to Ares and the Demos, 180 year 110.

These extraordinary gilt plaques record dedications and maintenance made by various individuals over a period of seventy years.<sup>52</sup> Such maintenance by priests is well attested in both Greek and Roman practice.<sup>53</sup> Medallions, decorating men or the images of gods as elements of a crown or wreath,<sup>54</sup> were a Hellenistic fashion that continued into the Roman period.<sup>55</sup> The mention of the wreath by the upper-right inscription could suggest that these items were part of such a decorative crown, but Jacobstahl and Jones (23) insist that the medallions are too heavy for this. As an alternative, they show that *typoi*<sup>56</sup> such as these decorate the breast of images of priests, kings, and gods throughout Asia Minor.<sup>57</sup> The Zeus

<sup>52</sup> The first number (180) is understood by Jacobstahl and Jones (27) to have been inserted between δῆμῳ and the second number (110) seventy years after the first dedication, when the repairs noted in the inscription were undertaken.

<sup>53</sup> *IG* V.2 83, Φιλοκράτης Δαμονίκ[ου] ὑπὲρ τὸν υἱὸν Δαμόνικον ἀνέθηκε τὸν βω[μὸν] καὶ ἐχρῦσσε τὸ ἄ[γαλμα] τοῦ Ἀπόλλων[ος]; *TAM* III 26, Ὅτανις Μωτος ἱερατεύσας Διὶ Σωλυμει εὐχὴν. Διονύσιος Ἡρακλείκου ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρέας ἐχρῦσσε; *ILS* 4107, *Acca L. f. Prima ministra Matris Magnae Matrem refecit Magnam et inauravit et Attini comam inauravit et Bellonam refecit. Attini aram, lunam argent p(ondo uncis duabus) posit P. Marius Pharetra sacer(dos).*

<sup>54</sup> E.g. the gilded bronze diadem, with busts of Attis and Cybele, in Berlin: *AA* 8 (1892) 111.

<sup>55</sup> Ath. 211B–C (Alexander wearing a crown with a bust of Arete); Suet. *Dom.* 4.4, *certamini praesedit ... capite gestans coronam auream cum effigie Iovis ac Iunonis Minervaeque, adsidentibus Diali sacerdote et collegio Flavianium pari habitu nisi quod illorum coronis inerat et ipsius imago.*

<sup>56</sup> This is the term Polybius (9.10.12) seems to use for such decoration.

<sup>57</sup> Priests: now-lost statue of an Archigallus wearing *typoi* on his breast (Jacobstahl and Jones 22 fig. 3). Kings: statues of Antiochos I of Commagene show such devices as fastenings for the royal robes (C. Humann

plaque has, and the Ares plaque likely did have,<sup>58</sup> devices for attaching the medallions to cords or necklaces. Could not a plaque very much like this one have decorated the statue-base or statue from Side? The Hellenistic temple inventories from Delos can provide a parallel of sorts, for among the objects catalogued is “a stone image (ἄγαλμα λίθινον) of Isis with a gilded εἰκόνιον, on the door, weight three drachmas”<sup>59</sup>—apparently a decorative image of the goddess embellished with a smaller figure. Moreover, this εἰκόνιον had been outfitted with a chain (ὀρμίσκος) as well, from which it was no doubt suspended from the ἄγαλμα, like the silver plaques from Myangla. In light of this comparandum, a very literal translation of εἰκόνιον as “icon” would seem doubly appropriate, for it also neatly solves the seeming pleonasm of the first dedication.

It is tempting to suggest that the Sidean inscriptions record dedications made in thanks for a propitious response from the oracle of Ares attested by Herodotus. Where, precisely, this oracle was located is difficult to determine. We have already suggested placing the site of Herodotus’ oracle within the terri-

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and O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* [Berlin 1890] pl. 35, 36, 39; see also the plates in the more recent volume by D. H. Sandars, *Nemrud Dagh II* [Winona Lake 1996] 155–165, 185, 204, 207). Gods: bronze statuette of Zeus Heliopolitanus wearing an image of the Moon on his breast (Y. Hajjar, *La triade d’Héliopolis-Baalbeck* [EPRO 59 (1977)] no. 233).

<sup>58</sup>Jacobstahl and Jones 18 and 23, with Plate V.

<sup>59</sup>*I.Delos* 1442.A.56, ἄγαλμα λίθινον Ἴσιδος ἐν θυρίδι ἔχον [(εἰκόνι)ον χρυσοῦν, ὄλ. |||· ὀρμίσκον οὐδ ὄλ. |||], ἀνάθημα Δεμονίκης· (εἰκόνιον κυπαρίττινον.) The restoration of (εἰκόνιον in the first instance is justified by the context of the second, where the adjective κυπαρίττινον] is added to explain the greater weight of the chain when compared to the (εἰκόνιον, which, on the analogy of *typoi* like that attested in *I.Delos* 1444.B.16, would normally be the heavier item. Other restorations of the lacuna in 56, such as τύποιον or τύπιον, are possible, given the poor script of this inventory. On τύπιον as a near synonym for the more common τύπος, see inter alia *I.Delos* 1452.A.18, 34, etc., and S. Aleshire, *The Athenian Asklepieion* (Amsterdam 1989) 318, with her commentary on *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1534B+1535.85. Either term could have stood in the Side dedication as well. Regardless of which restoration(s) we choose, the essential nature of the object(s) in question remains unchanged—a small decorative element fastened by a chain to a statue or statue base.

tory of Termessos, in view of that city's strong Solymian ethnic identity and prestigious Ares cult. Other sites, perhaps closer to Pamphylian Side, are certainly possible, and the indigenous Ares was worshipped at so many cities in south and south-western Asia Minor that we may face the prospect of multiple oracles of the god in south/southwestern Anatolia.<sup>60</sup> But distance was no obstacle to obtaining a response from a respected source, and so an identification of Herodotus' oracular Ares, perhaps located at Termessos, as the moving force behind the Sidean dedications presents no insuperable difficulty *per se*. Indeed, in the late Hellenistic period both Iconium<sup>61</sup> and Pamphylian Syedra sent official missions to an oracle whose response, nearly identical in each case, was later inscribed for public display. We present Robert's text of the Syedrian inscription (*vidi* 17August 2003):<sup>62</sup>

Πάμφυλοι Συεδρῆες ἐπιζύν[φ ἐν ἀρούρ]η  
ναίοντες χθόνα παμμιγέων ἐ[ριβώλ]ακα φωτῶν  
Ἄρηος δείκηλον ἐναιμέος ἀνδροφόνιοιο  
4 στήσαντες μεσάτω πόλιος [π]α[ρ]ὰ ἔρδετε θύσθλα  
δεσμοῖς Ἑρμείαιο σιδηρείοις μιν ἔχοντες·  
ἐγ δ' ἐτέροιο Δίκη σφε θεμιστεύουσα δικάζ[οι].  
αὐτὰρ ὁ λισσομένω ἵκελος πέλοι· ὦδε γ[ὰρ ὑ]μείν  
8 ἔσσειται εἰρηναῖος, ἀνάρσιον ὄχλον ἐ[λά]σσης  
τῆλε πάτρης, ὄρσει δὲ πολύλιτον εὐοχθείαν.  
σὺν δὲ καὶ ὑμέες ἄπτεσθαι κρατεροῖο [π]όν[οι]ο,  
ἢ σεύοντες ἢ ἐν δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις πε[δ]όω[ντες],  
12 μηδ' ὄκνω δόμεναι ληιστήρων τίσι[ν] αἰν[ήν].  
οὕτω γὰρ μάλα πᾶσαν ὑπεγδύσε[σθε κ]όλο[υσιν].

2 ἐ[ριβώλ]ακα Maróti; E . . . . . ATA Mitford

<sup>60</sup> Apollo had two oracles in Phocis alone: that at Delphi and the less well known, but equally venerable, oracle at Abae (Hdt. 1.46; Paus. 10.35.2).

<sup>61</sup> R. Heberdey and Ad. Wilhelm, "Reisen in Kilikien," *DenkschWien* 6 (1896) 161 no. 267; Robert, *Documents* 96–97.

<sup>62</sup> G. Bean and T. B. Mitford, "Journeys in Rough Cilicia," *DenkschWien* 85 (1965) no. 26; Robert, *Documents* 91–100; cf. E. Maróti, *Gymnasium* 98 (1991) 178.

Pamphylians of Syedra, who inhabit a rich land of mixed men in shared fields, plant a statue of bloody, man-slaying Ares in the middle of the city and beside (him) perform sacrifices as you bind him with the iron bonds of Hermes, and on the other side let Justice administer the law and judge him; let him resemble a suppliant. Thus will he become a peaceful deity for you, once he has driven the enemy horde far from your country, and he will give rise to prosperity much prayed for. And you, at the same time, take great pain, either chasing them or placing them in unbreakable bonds, and do not, out of fear of the pirates, pay their terrible penalty. For thus will you escape from all degradation.

Apollo of Claros, on the distant Ionian coast, was advanced by Robert as the source of these oracles; but the substance of the reply may suggest another source. The oracle bade each city to set up a statue of Ares being bound<sup>63</sup> by Dike<sup>64</sup> and Hermes and to establish an annual festival at which they ritually bound the statue. Such ceremonial is not necessarily to be seen simply as prophylactic magic meant to bind and thus incapacitate a demonic Ares.<sup>65</sup> Rather, the oracle makes clear that Ares, bound in this manner, will actively ensure the protection *and* prosperity of their land.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, Ares as *karpodotes*, bestower of fruits, is well attested in Lycia and Pisidia.<sup>67</sup> Given the prominence and characterization of Ares in both responses, it seems at least plausible that these responses originate not from the oracle of Apollo at Claros, but from the southern Anatolian

<sup>63</sup> In Greek myth, Ares was bound by the Titans Ephialtes and Otys: *Il.* 5.385–391, cf. *Od.* 8.270–325.

<sup>64</sup> The link between Ares and Dike was firmly established by the fifth century at least: so Aeschylus' depiction of Ares as exactor of divine Justice (Δίκη) in the *Oresteia*. See M. Gonzales, *Cults and Sanctuaries of Ares and Enyalios: A Survey of the Literary, Epigraphic, and Archaeological Evidence* (diss. Univ. California Berkeley 2004) 20–31.

<sup>65</sup> C. Faraone, "Binding and Burying the Forces of Evil," *CQ* 41 (1991) 166–172.

<sup>66</sup> Pausanias 3.15.7 understood the bound statue of Enyalios in Sparta in a similar fashion. The images of other gods were also bound by the Spartans: Paus. 3.15.11 (Aphrodite) and Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.38.3, 2.38.5 (two distinct manifestations of Artemis).

<sup>67</sup> See Gonzales, *Cults* 372–477.

oracle of Ares, perhaps located at Termessos. A decree of Syedra honoring a Termessian priest who had aided the Pamphylian *polis* tends to suggest an intimate and official rapport between these two ancient centers. If this was indeed the case, it stands to reason that the oracular Anatolian Ares would have been consulted by the citizens of many regional centers, among them Syedra, Iconium, and Side.

Despite Ares' greater prestige and unusual attributes in southern Asia Minor, he did not completely dominate the religious life of the cities in the region. Side, for example, boasted important cults of Athena, Apollo, and Zeus as well. Still, the helmet of Ares is represented on a carved limestone lintel alongside the emblems of the other important Sidean gods,<sup>68</sup> and Ares appears on the coins of the city in both the Hellenistic<sup>69</sup> and Roman Imperial periods.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, the manifestations of Ares in Side, Iconium, and Pamphylian Syedra were merely three of many regional cults of the god. In the Kibyris, Kabalis, and Lycia, Ares' cult is epigraphically attested at no fewer than seven sites—Bubon (twice: *I.Bubon* nos. 3, 4), Kyaneiai (*IGR* III 700), Oenoanda,<sup>71</sup> Myangla (above), Xanthus (*TAM* II 264), and Sidyma (*SEG* XXXVII 1228), while Kyaneiai,<sup>72</sup> Podalia (*Inv. Waddington* 3175), and Arycanda<sup>73</sup> all depict an armored warrior on their coins. In Pisidia and Lycaonia, farther to the northeast, coins and inscriptions

<sup>68</sup> Nollé, *Side* I 281–282.

<sup>69</sup> W. Leschhorn, "Ein Schatzfund sidetischer Münzen," in P. R. Franke et al. (eds.), *Σίδη* (Saarbrücken 1989) 27 no. 8.

<sup>70</sup> Coins from the time of Caracalla show the deity placed before an oversized bust of the emperor: C. C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1968) frontspiece with XVII. The Imperial cult, like Hellenistic ruler cult before, attached itself to the cults of many gods in Side. Cf. A. Nock "ΣΥΝΝΑΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ," *HSCP* 41 (1930) 1–62; Nollé, *Side* I 112, 122–125 with references.

<sup>71</sup> R. Heberdey and Kalinka, "Zwei Reisen in südwestlichen Kleinasien," *DenkschWien* 44 (1896) 53–54 no. 76; cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* III (1946) 63 n.2, X (1955) 214 n.5, *BCH* 107 (1983) 572.

<sup>72</sup> J. G. Milne, "Notes on the Oxford Collections," *JC* V.80 (1940) 224 no. 2 and pl. 12.9, with Robert, *Hellenica* VII (1949) 69.

<sup>73</sup> *BMC Lycia* 45 no. 7 and pl. X.6.

attest temples, shrines, statues, and dedications at over twenty regional centers, while Pamphylia and Cilicia boast eighteen more sites for Ares' worship.<sup>74</sup> The inscribed rupestral dedications at Zekeriaköy (now Tashlıpınar), which easily fall within the Anatolian "Rider-God" tradition,<sup>75</sup> are the best-known monuments to this Anatolian Ares.<sup>76</sup> Although Ares was not so neglected by the cities of mainland Greece as many would have us believe,<sup>77</sup> this extraordinarily strong clustering of Ares cults in southwestern Asia Minor certainly reinforces Robert's notion of an indigenous warrior deity who had taken the name of the Greek god.

Herodotus' testimony on the oracle of Ares clearly indicates that the roots of the worship of "Ares" in southern Asia Minor pre-date the Roman period by centuries; but how deeply anchored are they and what is their ultimate source? As we have seen, epic tradition too seems to associate Ares with the area north of Lycia and Pamphylia and the cult of Ares appears throughout south and southwest Asia Minor. The Pisidian city of Termessos worshipped a Zeus Solymeus—a hybrid of the Greek deity and the city's eponymous hero Solymos—depicted as an armed and armored warrior on its coins. In Caria, the Stratoniceians worshipped a Zeus Chrysaoreus,<sup>78</sup> probably a conflation of the Storm-god with the great indigenous warrior-hero Chrysaor.<sup>79</sup> The association of the Greek Ares with another such indigenous hero or deity may go

<sup>74</sup> See Gonzales, *Cults* 372–477.

<sup>75</sup> I. Delemen, *Anatolian Rider Gods* (*Asia Minor Studien* 35 [1999]) 76–87.

<sup>76</sup> Swoboda/Keil/Knoll, *Denkmäler* nos. 101–103 (Delemen, *Rider Gods* nos. 374–376.).

<sup>77</sup> See Gonzales, *Cults* 1–64.

<sup>78</sup> Strab. 14.2.25; his temple was held in common by all the Carians and served as a meeting place for the assembly for Carian *koinon*. Cf. Hdt. 1.171.5–6; *I.Stratonikeia* 16, 236, 249, 251, 252, 291, 293, 296a, etc.

<sup>79</sup> Steph. Byz. s.vv. Χρυσσαορίς and Ἰδριάζ; Pausanias 5.21.10 says that all of Caria was once called Chrysaoris. See also Steph. Byz. s.vv. Μύλασσα and Εὐρωπός.

some way toward explaining both the relative prominence of Ares in this area and the oracular powers ascribed to him.<sup>80</sup>

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